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An Expedition Across Iowa in 1820

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AN EXPEDITION ACROSS IOWA IN 1820.

A JOURNAL BY S. W. KEARNY.

The Missouri Historical Society in Vol. III. Number 1, January, 1908, and following numbers of its *Collections*, published a *Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny*, edited by Valentine Mott Porter. It is so valuable that we reproduce it with the exception only of such footnotes as are not indispensable to students of early Iowa matters. As stated in the *Collections* it is "A narrative of the first overland crossing by white persons between the upper Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, in an effort to open a route for the passage of United States troops between 'Camp Missouri,' later known as 'Fort Atkinson,' near the present city of Omaha, and 'Camp Cold Water,' the predecessor of Fort Snelling, near the present cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis."—Ed. ANNALS.

THE JOURNAL.

Sunday, July 2d, 1820—at 7 a. m. left Council Bluffs,¹ for the St. Peters;² our party consisting of Lieut. Col. Morgan, myself, Capt. Magee, Lieuts. Pentland, & Talcot with 15 soldiers, 4 servants, an Indian Guide, his wife & papoose, with 8 mules & 7 horses—Capt. Magee with the 15 soldiers assisted by Lieut. Talcot of the engineers, compose an exploring party to discover a route, across country, between the 2 Posts.

Reached Lisa's³ about 9 & sent a boat with our mules & horses, & on her return followed her previous track: viz descended the

¹The original "Council Bluff," on the Nebraska side, the scene of Lewis and Clark's council with the Indians. The military post there at the time this journal was written was known as "Camp Missouri." V. M. P.

²"St. Peters," now the Minnesota, River. The destination of the party was the military post on the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peter's. V. M. P.

³MANUEL LISA, one of the most active persons engaged in the fur trade. Born of Spanish parentage in New Orleans, Sept. 8, 1772, he moved in 1799 to St. Louis, engaged in the fur trade and acquired great influence over the Indians of the upper Missouri. He organized the highly successful St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company and built near the present site of Omaha a trading post that became known as "Fort Lisa." He died in St. Louis Aug. 12, 1820. V. M. P.

Missouri to the Bowyer* & landed on the eastern side of it, a mile from its mouth; a strong southerly wind rendered it difficult to manage our boat. Encamped for the night; until 2 P. M., the day was stormy, when it cleared away cool & pleasant.

July 3d.—

during last night a severe storm of rain Thunder & Lightning, about 8 A. M. it subsided, when we ordered the boat to Camp which had yesterday ferried us to this place & about 10 left our encampment; passed thro' a low bottom, having on our left a high broken bluff & on the left a ravine & beyond that gently swelling hills, well timbered—crossed the ravine at 1 P. M. & halted to feed, one of our party shot a deer; from here ascended a hill & continued on a high dividing ridge, having on both sides high broken hills; no timber—halted, near a ravine, made today as we suppose 15 miles. Our gen'l course has been about north. the wind is from that quarter & the day has been cool and pleasant.

July 4th.

Left our camp shortly after 6 A. M., & traveled over rolling prairies, but indifferently watered, & reached the Bowyer at 1 P. M. a distance of 12 miles—from hence proceeding in a parallel direction to the river, crossed two ravines (with water) & reached a third where we encamped—our course today has been a little E of North—made 20 miles. The Bowyer is but thinly clothed with wood, tho' frequently the highlands in the rear are well covered. The day cool & pleasant, & wind North East. This day being the anniversary of our Independence, we celebrated it, to the extent of our means; an extra gill of whiskey was issued to each man, & we made our dinner on pork & biscuit & drank to the memory of our forefathers in a *mint julup*. Lieut. Talcot took an observation & found our camp to be $41^{\circ} 49\frac{3}{4}'$ —

July 5th.

On awaking this morning,, found my blankets as wet as if they had been thrown into the river. I have frequently had occasion to remark the excessive dews that fall in this section of the country. Crossed the ravine, & at 7 A. M., our party was again on its march; followed the river course, a little E. of North and being in the advance of the party, rode to the summit of the Bluff on our right & on a broken & barren spot was attacked by a swarm

*"Bowyer," now usually spelled "Boyer." V. M. P. And Boyer Lake, Sac County, Iowa, is now known as Wall Lake.—Ed. ANNALS.

of small wasps, with yellow wings & very small heads & not being disposed to contest the point, for the dominion of that tract, of which they were the previous Inhabitants, I made a rapid retreat, not however until I was severely stung by some of the most enraged.—crossed the Bowyer at 1 P. M., ten miles from last night's camp, & 45 from the mouth; the water here being 3 foot deep—from this the Western shore of the river assumed the character the eastern had in the rear, viz a bottom, extending half a mile from the water & hills gently rising from it; a few miles brought us to a ravine, with a good spring & after crossing it, took a North course, & passed over a continuation of very high, broken hills, with no timber, & but indifferent soil; reached a small creek, where we encamped, with wood enough to make us a fire & supply our other wants; it empties into the Bowyer, about a half mile from us; made today 21 miles; weather cool, clear & pleasant.

July 6th.

Started at 7 A. M.—

Last night we found quite cool, & three blankets, for a covering, were by no means uncomfortable. The mosquitoes, however, were very troublesome & tho' I am benefitted by Lieut. Talcot's *mosquito net*, we had not sufficiently secured it to prevent the entrance of these annoying little insects.

Crossed the creek, which we called Morgan's Creek, & were engaged till 11 A. M. in continually *de- & ascending* high hills, with no indication of timber, or of a single tree, when we halted on a ravine with a little water for our dinner, having previously crossed two others, of a similar character—at 1 P. M., recommenced our march, & after proceeding a few miles, saw from the summit of a high hill some timber, to the West, at however, a very great distance; from this point the hills commence running in a different direction, viz N. & S. & we find the traveling somewhat easier, as we are enabled to take advantage of the ridges—halted at sunset, near a small drain of water, but without wood, having made 22 miles & over a country, tho' without timber, yet pretty well watered by small drains—

The dull monotony of traveling over the Prairies is occasionally interrupted by the feats of *Horsemanship* displayed by our squaw, & the affection & gallantry shewn toward her & her Papoose (an infant of but Four months old) by the Indian Guide.

Four of our party went in pursuit of a *gang of elk* which we observed, a mile from our camp, but returned unsuccessful, about 9 P. M.

July 7th.

In consequence of having no timber, & being desirous of procuring some, started at 4 A. M. & continued our course North, for 10 miles, when we halted on a ravine for breakfast. The country is gradually assuming a more level appearance & many elk are seen, to the right & left of us, but at too great a distance to pursue—we have headed the Head waters of the *Soldier river*, which is laid down on the maps incorrectly; inasmuch as it is made to appear a very considerable stream, & having its source near the Racoon branch, of the Des Moines; proceeded on our route; saw many gangs of buck elks, & some of our party fired at them, but at too great distance to kill any; shot a badger, which was given to the Guide, who has been all day very sick, in consequence of living on salt provisions, which he is unaccustomed to—halted at 6 P. M., on a ravine, with no timber, the want of which we begin to feel—made today 21 miles.

July 8th.

During last night we experienced a severe storm of rain, accompanied by Thunder & Lightning, which from our exposed situation, in the open Prairie, we find by no means agreeable.

Started, at 5 A. M. at which time it cleared away, & ten miles from camp, left the Party & the route they were pursuing, & rode a mile to the Eastward & saw a mound which had been erected seven years since over the remains of an Indian chief, of the *Sioux Nation*; this mound is circular, the diameter of which is 12 feet, elevation 6, & having a pole of 12 feet standing in the centre—'Tis on a high hill which overlooks a vast extent of country— About noon, observed a large Bull buffalo, which a few of us pursued— Having the fleetest horse, I rode in front, & shot three pistol balls into him, not more than at 10 feet distance, two more balls were afterward fired into him, when he fell; we chased him about 2 miles; he is very large, & would weigh a thousand weight. Proceeded & reached a fine stream, 20 yards wide, which our guide says is the *Leve Grave*, a branch of the Sioux, & so called from a trader of that name having first traded with the Indians on this river; sent back four mules to bring up the buffalo, which some men have been left to butcher, & having got some timber, determined to remain here, 'til tomorrow, having made 16 miles, & after traveling 59, without the use of wood, and with the exception of a single hill, without sight of any—we welcomed the fire as an old acquaintance & soon banqueted upon a buffalo feast, the meat of which is far preferable to our common beef—

Near the banks of this river, the country is much broken—high steep hills, with scattered stones, the last of which we have seen little or nothing of during our journey.

N. B. The above Indian was named *Shaton de Tou* (Red Hawk),⁵ was a powerful chief of the Sissetons⁶ (a band of the Sioux) & was the first that visited the Prophet (about the time of the Declaration of War) on the Wabash, from his tribe & he excited his whole nation to take up arms against the Americans.

We saw today many elk in the Prairie, but were unable to approach near enough to shoot any—

July 9th. Sunday—

The squaw this morning quite sick, in consequence of eating too greedily of the Buffaloe.

We were detained until about 4 P. M., in order to jerk our fresh meat, & during which time Lieut. Talcot took an observation, & found our Camp to be in Lat. 42°58' & we conclude we have underrated the distance we have traveled about 10 miles— When about to start, found the river had risen two or three feet, & therefore we determined to travel round the bend, & not cross it, tho' our distance may probably be lengthened 5 or 6 miles—crossed over some high hills, & reached a handsome stream of water quite deep & ten yards wide, emptying into the *Leve Grave*, over which we felled some trees, on which our baggage was crossed, & having swam our horses and mules, encamped on a narrow point, surrounded by high hills & on the creek, which we called *Mary's Stream*—having made about 4 miles.

July 10th.

During last night, we had some rain, with Thunder & Lightning; the mosquitoes we found so excessively annoying as almost to exhaust all our patience.

Left camp, at 6 A. M., passed over some high hills, well covered with granite and limestone, & the scattered groves of box alder on the Leve Grave give to the scenery a handsome effect—saw a gang of about 200 *she elks*, but they were too much alarmed, at our appearance, to suffer us to approach nearer than 400 yards to them—at this season of the year the males & females run separately, & the former shew, by far, much more curiosity, for they frequently come within 150 yards, to discover what we are; saw some wolves & sand cranes, and crossed two or three of the

⁵RED HAWK was one of the chiefs in the large party of Sioux, allies of the British, that were with Gen. Proctor and Col. Robert Dickson in 1813 in the attack on Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, which was gallantly defended by Major George Croghan (Grignon's *Recollections*, 3 *Wis. Hist. Collections*, p. 270.) V. M. P.

⁶SISSETONS (Sussitongs or Sissitonwans), a band of the Sioux numbering according to Gen. Zebulon Pike about 2,160 at the time of his expedition, 1805-7. V. M. P.

Sioux trails, none, however, lately traveled; reached a fine sulphur spring, strongly impregnated, & halted for our dinner— The morning very warm & sultry; but a little rain about 11 A. M. cleared the atmosphere when it was cool and pleasant.

At 4 P. M. when about to proceed the wind hauled round from the *S-East* to the *N. West* & it commenced raining, when we determined to pitch our camp & remain here for the night, having made today 15 miles & in consequence of the Guide's wish not to cross the river, & it holding here nearly a *S-East* course, we were compelled to steer accordingly, about sun down it cleared away, when the most perfect and beautiful rainbow, that I had ever beheld, presented itself to our view.

July 11th.

During last night, we experienced a very hard rain, which subsided at day break, & at 8 A. M. we left our encampment, our course *N-East*, & we passed over some level Prairies of considerable extent on the high lands, saw small scattering stones of Limestone, granite & Quartz—discovered a large drove of Buffaloe to our left, probably 5 thousand, but not being in want of provisions; They being 3 or 4 miles out of our course, and the clouds having indicated a storm, we pursued our course, but soon fell upon a drove of about 100, to which several of us gave chase, & out of which a *yearling* was obtained, after a half mile chase;—after being butchered, he was mounted on one of our horses, and with our prize we proceeded and overtook the main party, at *Elk Lake*, where we encamped, for the night, having made 17 miles.

The guide today gave me what he called *Pome De Prairie* (Prairie apple) which he found & which he says the Indians are very fond of—I ate of it; its taste resembling that of a *Buckeye nut*; its shape a Pear, & the color being whitish.

Elk Lake, nearly circular, & the circumference being about 4 miles, is of handsome clear water, & derives its name from the circumstances of a Party of Indians having driven a large gang of Elk, in the winter season, on the ice, when their weight broke it, & they thus fell a sacrifice to their crafty pursuers; its banks are gently sloping and covered with sand & pebbles; & a thin growth of timber, with the reflection of the Sun on the water, & the knowledge of our being so far separated from our friends, & civilized society, irresistibly enforce upon us an impression of gloomy beauty—From this Lake is an outlet which leads to the Leve Grave.

Some of our party killed, on the banks of the river, a Fisher, who, however, did not give up his life without a struggle nor without shewing much fierceness of disposition.

Saw in the Prairie a Missouri Fox, a beautiful animal, & whose fur is much celebrated for its softness, &c.

By Lieut. Talcot's observation, our camp on Elk Lake is in Lat. 43° 11' 3"

July 12th.

Left camp at 6 A. M., & after holding a *N.East* course for about 10 miles, over Prairies occasionally level, & then rolling, reached the river Des Moines⁷ (having headed the Racoon branch of it) over which without much difficulty we found a fording place, & crossed—The river is handsomely covered with timber, & its waters clean & bottom sandy. About ten leagues to the *N.West* of our crossing place is Spirit Lake, at the Head of Sioux river, respecting which the Indians have a curious tradition, viz that the Great Spirit resides in this Lake, & that nothing ever leaves it which once enters it; our Indian Guide informs me that he does not give credit to this story tho' he believes that a monster with horns lives here & the circumstances of a whirlpool being in the center, afford the foundation for his nation's story.

After leaving the Des Moines & traveling 3 miles, reached a Lake, a mile in circumference, where we halted for our dinner; & after obtaining which proceeded & traveled over a Prairie, for about 10 miles, a great part of which is low, wet, & marshy, & having made today 23 miles halted on the *Little Blue Earth River*, for the night.

The wind today has been blowing from the *N.West* & cool, raw & blustering.

July 13th.

At 7 A. M., crossed the river (water a foot deep) & which our Guide now calls *Point Coupee*, & adds that it empties into the Blue Earth River—ascended high Prairies—Passed by many large granite & other stones, halted for our dinner, in an open Prairie near a marsh, from which we obtained some water—When about to proceed, saw a drove of 100 Buffaloe passing from N. to South a half mile in our rear. In the afternoon crossed many of their trails, & continuing our course nearly East, reached at Sun down an old bed of a river, with high banks, about a Quarter or half a mile wide, which with a little difficulty we crossed; the water & mire being occasionally *belly deep*, to our horses and mules; saw another drove of Buffaloe, which some of the party fired at, but without success. Reached at dark a small stream, which the Guide says is the same we slept on last night, when we encamped, having traveled today 22 miles, without seeing the least indication of timber,

⁷Probably the west fork of the Des Moines. V. M. P.

Thwaites in *Early Western Travels*, Vol. 14, p. 159, says: "The Illinois Indians called their habitat Moingona. The French contracted this to *les Moins*, and called this stream *la Rivière des Moins*. Later the name became associated with the Trappist monks (*moines*) and by a play on words was changed to *la Rivière des Moines*.—Ed. ANNALS.

without finding water, excepting in the marshes, & it being over the high dividing ridge, which separate the Head waters of the streams that flow into the Missouri from those that empty into the Mississippi.

For an hour or two, after our reaching the camp, we found the mosquitoes so troublesome as almost to prevent our doing anything; & But few persons, who have not felt the inconvenience attending a visit from them would willingly assent to a relation of them.

The day was cool & pleasant, wind from the North, & the night quite cold—

July 14th.

Started, at 7 A. M. traveled 18 miles over a level & low prairie, saw a prairie wolf, which I believe, from his appearance, to be a very near relation to the animal that was pointed out to me, on the 11th Inst., as a Missouri Fox—Two of the party shot a Buck Elk (4 years old) of about 300 w't. Encamped at a small point of wood near a little pond, with good & cool water. Our course today has been *S. of East*—the Lat of our camp agreeably to observation, is 43°7'n.

July 15th.

The air, last night, quite cool, & the dew fell very heavy, & to these causes are we indebted for sweet & refreshing slumbers; inasmuch as the mosquitoes disappear, when the others commence.

Left camp at 7 A. M., steered our course *N. East*, over handsome Prairies tho' of but indifferent soil, our route laying between two extensive groves of timber, which we observed yesterday morning, on our right & left, & as far off as the eye could reach; they have been gradually approximating & we are in hopes at that point of ascertaining where we are, at present being in much doubt, inasmuch as we have trusted entirely to our Guide & his knowledge being rather imperfect—halted on a ravine for dinner. From this point observed at a short distance a Buffaloe cow, with her calf, which two of the party with their rifles went in pursuit of & Col. Morgan, Lieut. Talcot & myself followed in the rear, to give chase in case of the failure of the former. They fired when the cow & calf started off, & we riders in pursuit. The chase lasted for about a mile, when having fired two or three pistol balls into the Cow & she having received more from the others, we found ourselves in possession of her, & weighing 400 w't. In the afternoon reached the point of junction of the two groves of timber, & passing thro' it reached a small creek at Sundown when we encamped with an extensive Prairie in our front, & Timber stretching from the West to East at a great distance from us.

Made today 18 miles & at the point of encampment found an excellent spring of pure & cold water.

About 100 w't of our jerked Beef being spoiled, we were obliged to leave it for the wolves, but its place was well supplied by the Fresh Buffalo we obtained immediately afterwards—

We saw & heard many rattlesnakes but they are not an object of much terror to our Indian Guide, in as much as the Prairie contains a plenty of the *Bois Blanc De Prairie* (white wood of the Prairie) & *Les Painet*^s the decoction of whose roots are considered a speedy & infallible cure for the severest sting from them.

July 16. Sunday.

With a fine clear Sunshiny morning left camp, at 7 A. M. crossed the creek, called *Bois Frent* (hard wood) with a Rocky bottom. Took a *North* course; crossed a fresh trail over which we presume a party of Dozen Indians must have passed yesterday—continued our course over gently rolling Prairies, for the distance of 14 miles when we reached the woods, consisting of oak—

a mile from this point reached a marsh running across our route, which detained us an hour & a half in crossing over our baggage &c.

In the afternoon, pursued our course, *N.East* thro' the woods, with thick underbrush, for the distance of 5 miles, & after crossing and recrossing a stream, about 10 yards wide, with gravelly bottom, encamped on a point of woods, with an extensive Prairie to the *East*.—

For a few days past we have been gradually losing all confidence in our Guide as regards his knowledge of this part of the country; he is himself considerably chagrined & mortified at his own ignorance, & his squaw this evening was seen weeping, most piteously, & no doubt thro' fear least, as her *Lord & Master* has failed in his pledge of conducting us in a direct route to our point of destination, we should *plty Indian* with him, viz, sacrifice him on the altar of his ignorance; A Tin of soup from our mess to the squaw quieted her apprehension & some kind words satisfied the Indians & they once more retired to their rest, apparently in good humor & spirits.

Made today 19 miles & our camp, by observation, is in Lat. 43° 29' N.

July 17th.

Started about 7 A. M., passed over a Prairie of much low & marshy ground, for the distance of 8 miles, when we reached another grove of timber, with scattering oak & no underbrush, which we passed thro', for 5 miles, & halted for dinner, after which, parting with our Guide, he to endeavor to ascertain our situation, we proceeded & passed over a Prairie of 5 miles, & crossing a ravine,

^sProbably meant for *Paique*, which is given in Baillou's *Dictionnaire* as an American name for *Chimaphila Umbellata*, also known as 'Prince's Pine' and 'Pipsissewu.' V. M. P.

halted on its banks & pitched our camp. at this time it commenced raining very hard, & continued for two hours when the Indian rejoined us, but still appearing ignorant of the surrounding country.

Made today 18 miles, our course *N.East*.

July 18th.

Morning cloudy, & drizzling—started about 7 A. M.; course East; one mile brought us to a river, 20 yards wide, knee deep, with stony bottom, and running from N to *South* with a current of a mile & a half an hour, & the handsomest stream of water we have seen, since we left the Bowyer; we do not know what to call it; our Guide thinks it the St. Peters.⁹

Continued our course over some handsome Prairies, well surrounded with timber, & which would admit of very beautiful farms—crossed a ravine & halted at noon, when Lieut. Col. Morgan, Lieut. Talcott & myself, with the Guide, rode about six miles, to the South, to ascertain if the river we crossed this morning bended to the Easterly, that we might satisfy ourselves, whether or no, it is the St. Peters. Returned to the party of a contrary opinion, when we again proceeded, & holding a *N.East* course, thro' handsome groves of timber, reached another ravine having made 14 miles & encamped for the night.

Four of the party went out in pursuit of game, but returned unsuccessful.

July 19th.

Our provisions being nearly exhausted, & the uncertainty of the relative situation between ourselves & the St. Peters, leaving it doubtful when we shall reach the Post, at its mouth, we rose early & at 5 A. M. took up our line of march.

The cause of our uncertainty, existing among us, arises from the differences of the *Lat.* of the mouth of St. Peters, as laid down on the maps, & as made by Maj. Long, Topo. Engineer, we giving credit, to the latter, but our Indian insisting, that we have crossed the St. Peters & the maps, seem, to strengthen, his opinion.¹⁰

⁹Probably it was the Red Cedar River. They could not have been within 75 miles of the St. Peter's at this time. V. M. P.

¹⁰They were of course mistaken in their conjecture that they had crossed the St. Peter's. As a matter of fact they never saw that river until they reached their destination at its junction with the Mississippi. In the London edition (1823) of James' *Long's Expedition*, there is a map, which is reproduced by Thwaites in his *Early Western Travels*, xiv, p. 30, that shows an overland route from Council Bluff to the St. Peter's, designated as "Lt. Talcott's route in 1820." If this purported to be the route taken by our party * * * the map is in that respect inaccurate. * * * There is a possibility that the route shown may have been a later one taken by Talcott, for in 1820 Lewis Cass wrote Calhoun recommending Talcott as a suitable person to conduct an expedition *up the St. Peter's*, a recommendation naturally following upon, though not necessarily implying an acquaintance with, the region resulting from an earlier expedition, that is to say, this one.—Ed. *Mo. Hist. Col.*

The morning quite cool & cloudy, & being determined to pursue a N.E. course 'til we strike the St. Peters, or Mississippi from either of which we shall be able to ascertain our situation, we steered accordingly—crossed the ravine & passed over a gently rolling Prairie for the distance of 10 miles, which brought us to a point of timber on another ravine, & which here turns at right angles & runs to the East; continued our course, which brought us to a small drain of water, on the steep banks of which we found regular strata of sand stone, & extending for some distance—crossed over more prairies, & thro' woodland & halted after dark without wood, or water, & tho' supperless, & shelterless, we were all soon lost in quiet repose: we made today about 31 miles.

July 20th.

During last night we had a little rain, started at 4 A. M., crossed over some very high hills, well covered with wood, & much underbrush, making the traveling exceedingly difficult, & after 2 miles halted on the banks of a handsome stream, (which we had crossed,) 12 yards wide, sandy bottom, & 2 or 3 feet deep, for the purpose of cooking & eating. we here took a farewell meal on the last of our pork & bread; a little parched corn is still reserved; proceeded, at 8 A. M., ascended a high hill & struck on a very broken country—Two miles to the right of our course, discerned a high promontory, & accompanied by Lieut. T. we rode to it; on ascending which, we found ourselves about 70 feet higher than the surrounding country & with the assistance of our spyglass, were enabled to see a very great distance in every direction; & tho' beautiful & interesting objects were presented to us, we were not able to gain any satisfactory information relative to our situation; rejoined the party & continuing our course, descended a very steep declivity, & following a ravine for a short distance reached a river¹¹ 30 yards wide 5 feet deep, with a stony bottom & which many of the party believe to be the St. Peters; halted on its banks & remained 'til sundown, when we crossed over to the N. side, & encamped for the night, having made 11 miles. The river is well bordered by oak, pine, white ash, & slippery elm, & in its vicinity we discovered sand & limestone. During the afternoon some of the men were employed in fishing, but without success. The Indian shot 3 geese, which were distributed to the party—Lieut. T. here lost an eye glass belonging to his Telescope, whose place was supplied with a microscope, & at night, taking an observation, found our camp to be 44° 18' N. Lat.

¹¹Probably the Zumbro River. V. M. P.

July 21st.

In consequence of a little fog on the water, or some other cause equally as unimportant, we remained 'til 8 A. M., during which time we took our breakfast on our portion of the geese, & leaving the river, ascended a high & broken hill & then passing thro' a thick cluster of timber, with much underbrush, for a mile, descended another hill & found ourselves in a beautiful valley 250 yards wide, & bordered by high & broken ridges, following which, about two miles, ascended the left ridge, & having with much difficulty & exertion passed over many high, broken & precipitous hills, halted, at noon, to rest, tho' without water; proceeded at 2 P. M. & reached a small drain of water, & having lately suffered much inconvenience from the want of it, we here filled our canteens & kegs—saw two deer, neither of which were we able to shoot, this is the only game we have seen for several days, except the geese which were shot & many Prairie hens, but being armed only with rifles, & these hens not to be discovered in the grass, & only seen when flying, we are not able to shoot them—about 4 P. M. when every one of the party was much fatigued with traveling, & almost exhausted by a scorching sun & empty stomachs, with much anxiety of mind respecting our situation, we discovered from a high ridge the Mississippi river, & freshening up, we with light hearts & quick steps soon reached its water, at which point we observed a boat on the opposite shore & after hailing for a considerable time, a canoe, with 3 Sioux Indians, with much precaution approached us. From these we learned the river we left this morning to be the Pine,¹² that we are now at Lake Pepin, & that the Boat opposite has plenty of provisions; some of the party took the Indians' canoe, & paddled to them obtained pork, bread, & whiskey.

This supply, so perfectly unexpected, saved us the trouble of butchering one of our mules, which we had determined on & which we should have done this evening, a selection having been made, & our appetites perfectly prepared. Made today 14 miles. About 10 P. M., twelve Indians, the remainder of the party to which the others belong, came over, & after presenting each with some tobacco, they lay down and slept in our camp.

July 22d.

At day break all the Indians, excepting one whom we retained as Guide, left us for their village; we followed at 7 A. M., crossed a small stream at its mouth, being about 5 feet deep & 12 yards wide; followed up, on the margin of the river, seeing many Pheasants, the first I have seen since crossing the Alleghany Mountains, &

¹²Now known as the Zumbro. V.M. P.

great number of Pigeons, several of which we shot—crossed a high hill, & leaving sight of the river, struck into some beautiful little vallies, thro' which we held our course, (new objects & interesting ones continually presenting themselves) till we, at sundown, reached an Indian village on the Mississippi, having made 15 miles—during a very hot day.

For the first time since leaving C. Bluff, our Indian & his squaw this day quarreled—she has hitherto been very politely treated by him & as much so as the Ladies in our most polished societies receive from their husbands. This day our party being increased by our new Indian Guide, the other is ashamed to continue his kindness, in as much as the Indians consider nothing more disgraceful than to wait upon their squaws, but on the contrary make the latter their servants & perform all the most menial duties.

The village we reached this evening has been established about 10 years since by *Tauton Gomony* (Red Wing) a chief & of the *Gens De Lac*, a Tribe of the Sioux; he is about 70 years old & has been much distinguished for his military talents & prowess, as well as his friendship & attachment to the Americans; on our arriving near his village, we were on the point of encamping about 200 yards from it; he invited us nearer when some excuse was offered for our declining, on which occasion he was much chagrined & mortified, & expressing it to us & adding that no American had ever before shunned him, we accepted his invitation, & encamped near his *Wig Wams*; after which the officers were invited by him to a Feast & seating ourselves alongside of him, his squaw handed each of us a bason of venison, boiled up with parched corn which we found exceedingly palatable. Whilst eating, the chief, by means of our old Guide; (who speaks French as well as the Sioux language) he told us that what was placed before us was ours, & that he did not wish any returned to him; our share having been much more than we could possibly digest, we sent our leavings to the soldiers; we then returned to our camp, & were followed shortly after by him, accompanied by his squaw, bringing Fish & a deer head. We gave him whiskey & tea & making him a present of some tobacco, he retired, & we went to rest.

July 23rd, Sunday.

During last night we experienced a very severe storm of rain, Thunder & Lightning, accompanied by a heavy gale of wind, & the weather, during the morning, continuing unfavorable, we remained til 2 P. M., previous to which we took our dinner & had as a guest the Indian chief, whom we treated with pork & biscuit; a Boat with some Frenchmen from Lord Selkirk's establishment, on the Red River, likewise arrived at this time. Leaving the Mississippi, to avoid its banks, we proceeded to Cannon River, about 30 yds wide,

3 feet deep, & crossing which, encamped on its banks, having made 6 miles. During our march this afternoon it rained harder than I had ever before known & we had much Thunder & Lightning the latter, at one time, we discerned for a few seconds very near & setting a cluster of Trees, as it were, on fire.

At sundown our new Indian was sent back to his village, with some tobacco, to trade for provisions (our men having eaten so voraciously as to exhaust our late supplies) he returned at 10 P. M., bringing a Fish, & a few quarts of dried wild Potatoes.

July 24th.

During last night we were very much annoyed by the buzzing & stinging of the mosquitoes, so much so as to prevent several of us from sleeping—proceeded at 5 A. M., crossed over some handsome Prairies, & thro' beautiful vallies. Forded a stream of clear water, 10 yards wide, 2 feet deep & filling our kegs proceded 20 miles to breakfast; obtaining which & our provisions being again out, we started & passing over gentle hills & handsome small Prairies we reached a Lake & after taking a drink, proceeded to a second, covering about an acre of ground, & having made 30 miles, halted for the night.

July 25th.

Started at 6 A. M. passing over a few gentle hills & some Prairie, reached the Fort, at the mouth of St. Peters on the Mississippi, not having seen the latter river since our leaving the Indian village, our course having been about N.W.. At this place we obtained a very comfortable breakfast, & after which meeting with Col Leavenworth, we dispatched our soldiers with the horses and mules by land (having previously swam the latter over the St. Peters,) & accompanied him in his boat to his new cantonment, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the old one, having made today 5 miles. We were here most kindly & hospitably received & entertained by Col. L. & his Lady. & being in the enjoyment of their society, & the hearty welcome & good comforts of their table, imagined ourselves repaid for the hardships we had endured, the difficulties we had met with, & the obstacles we had overcome during our journey from the C. Bluffs—we were likewise cordially received by all the officers at the Post, who were a little astonished at the sight of us, we having been the First Whites that ever crossed at such a distance from the Missouri to the Mississippi river.

The object of the exploring party which I have accompanied from the C.B. being to discover a practicable route for traveling between that Post & this (on the St. Peters), the one we have come is not, in the least, adapted for that purpose.

Our circuitous & wavering route (which is to be attributed to the Guide's advice, being in direct contradiction to our opinion, & we being occasionally guided by the one, & then by the other); the immense Prairies we have crossed; the want of timber, which we for several days at a time experienced; the little water that in some parts were to be found; the high & precipitous Mountains & hills that we climbed over, render that road impracticable & almost impassable, for more than very small bodies. A very great portion of the country in the neighborhood of our route could be of no other object (at any time) to our gov't in the acquisition of it, than the expulsion of the savages from it, & the driving them nearer to the *N.West*, & the Pacific for the disadvantages (as above) will forever prevent its supporting more than a thinly scattered population. The soil generally we found good, but bears no comparison to that I saw between *Chariton* & *C.B.*

July 26th.

Crossed over to the opposite shore of the Miss. into the *North West* territory, where I found the bank about 60 feet high; Two thirds of which is (if it may be so denominated) a regular strata of sand, having two or three inches of the exterior hard like stone, but breaking which came to a beautiful white & fine sand; the other third is Limestone, with a considerable mixture of the above sand.

Col. Leavenworth, being a magistrate and authorized to exercise the functions appertaining thereto in the *N.W. Ter'y*,¹³ he accompanied a Lieut. Green & a Miss Gooding across the river, & there married them, after which they returned, & I paid my respects to the Bride & Groom.

July 27th.

After breakfast, in company with Col. Morgan & Leavenworth, Lieut. Pentland & Talcot, I left camp, to visit the surrounding country; passed up in a *N.W.* direction over rich Prairies, & soon reached the "Falls of St. Anthony."

In viewing these Falls, I must confess they did not strike me with that majestic & grand appearance I had been induced to expect from their description by former travellers—they are, however, very beautiful & probably on account of having frequently seen the immense Falls of Niagara & the high pitch I had wrought myself up to, of witnessing in the savage country a body of water (at a particular point) held in veneration by the neighboring Tribes of Indians, & to which many of them at this day offer their tribute, may account for my disappointment.

The view, as presented to me from the *W.* shore, & a short distance below the Fall, was nearly thus:

¹³The "Northwest Territory." it will be remembered, embraced the region east of the Mississippi. V. M. F.

About 30 yards from the *E.* shore, & as many below the falls, commences an Island, which runs up a quarter of a mile, probably 20 yards wide, covered with timber which prevented a view of the Falls beyond—Between that island & the *W.* shore the water appears to flow over the Falls in 28 separate or detached bodies; the edge or extremity circuitous, & having many angles, tho' quite regular. The pitch or Fall of water is 16 feet, tho' immediately & for some hundred yards below, the water dashes, with the rapidity of Lightning, over large Limestone Rocks, which have been worn away from the main body at the Fall—above & below these Falls are many rapids, which assist to diversify the scene & render it more terrific. a small island near the *W.* shore, a few yards below the Fall, separates the body of water & helps to increase its rapidity, by giving to it a smaller channel. The width of the river above the Falls may be about 600 & the banks from that point, approaching each other, leave it not more below than 200 yards.

The roaring of the water may be heard for a considerable distance, say 10 or 12 miles, tho' the spray did not extend as far as one might have reason to expect it would—

One of the above bodies, being the most prominent, not only as to situation but to attract attention, is about 30 feet long & has very much the appearance of a large wheel turning round with great rapidity.

The Falls are 9 by water & 7 miles by Land above the mouth of the St. Peters river.

The Indians consider these Falls as a Great Spirit, & when passing make presents & pay their adoration to them—Some give tobacco; some, whiskey, & all, what they themselves are most fond of—a Drum and sticks were once thrown in & the present accompanied by the remark that as the Great Spirit appeared to be fond of noise, the Drum was offered that he might beat upon it & make as much as he thought proper.

The distance of the Falls of St. Anthony from the mouth of St. Peters river is the same as those of Niagara from the Town of Queenston, & 'tis generally supposed the latter Falls once were at the latter place; The Banks, rocks, &c., &c., at the St. Peters, have as much appearance of a large Fall having been at that place, as those of Queenston have; and why is it not as probable?

I have mentioned the above as a curiosity, leaving it for others to investigate the history of the Falls, I merely vouching for the correctness of the appearance of them.

From the Falls, our party proceeded to a beautiful Lake & after firing at some geese left it, & passing by a handsome grove of Tamaracks, (a tall & very straight tree) reached another, where we passed 3 or 4 hours in fishing, & with great success. Returned to camp at sun down.

Lieut. T. took an observation, & found our camp (a mile from the St. Peters) in Lat. $44^{\circ} 54' N$.

July 28th.

Day clear & pleasant, visited a point of Land at the mouth of the St. Peters river,—where 'tis contemplated building permanent barracks & a fortification—The point is commanded by several high hills in its neighborhood, and all of which it would be impossible to fortify.

July 29th.

Started at 9 A. M. to descend the Mississippi—at the confluence of the Miss. & St. Peters rivers is an Island, of about 100 acres, & the waters of both rivers flow on either side, as the tide or water of either may be the highest—The former is at that point 130 yards & the latter 80, wide—Descended the river 4 miles, when we put to at a ravine & walking up which for 200 yards, reached a Cave, being at the mouth 20 feet wide & 10 high; handsomely arched & the roof & floor, being of a beautiful white sand, resembling the finest muscovado¹ sugar—Taking a candle, I commenced entering it, in company with 3 or 4 of our boat's party—we penetrated about 400 yards, frequently obliged to crawl on our hands and feet, it being so low & then on account of its narrow passage, sidling along & supporting ourselves (having no foot hold) with our backs & hands—at 100 yards from the entrance we passed thro' a room, of about 15 feet square As far as we penetrated we found a rapid stream of water (cold as ice & in which we could not remain for any length of time) occasionally two yards wide, & then narrowing to a foot; In some places it was so deep that we could not touch bottom, tho' generally it was not more than 2 foot—The stones we found at the bottom had a mixture of iron in them. The air was quite cold, & the farther we advanced, the more plainly could we hear the roaring of the waters from within, like distant Thunder.

The passengers in the boat, being desirous to proceed with as little delay as possible, we returned to it, not however with our curiosity gratified, as we had wished to penetrate 'till stopped by difficulties we could not overcome.

Four miles below, reached *Le Petit Corbeau's* (little crow) village of Sioux of 11 lodges, at the head of an Island, & a short distance below a high ridge of Limestone Rock, where we stopped a few minutes to trade for corn; Five miles further brought us to the "Painted Rock," on the *East shore*, having tobacco, quills, &c., &c.. scattered round; which the Indians consider a Great Spirit, & to which they, when passing, make presents.

In descending the river grows narrower, & at some places cannot be more than 200 yards wide— —The *E. shore* is generally bounded

¹Muscavado—unrefined sugar.

by high banks, the *W.* with low lands, well timbered—Reached the St. Croix river about dusk, 100 yards wide, flowing in on the *E. side* & being about the width of the Mississippi, at the junction, & its course not varying much, it has frequently been by strangers mistaken for that river, & ascended some distance, 'ere the error was detected—dropped anchor in the middle of the stream, a few yards below, for the night.

July 30th, Sunday.

Weighed anchor at 4 A. M. at which time there was a thick fog on the river, but which was dispersed at 7—Passed "*Red Wing*" (he who had treated us so politely at his village on the 22nd inst) ascending the river in a canoe with his squaw, who immediately recognized me, made them some presents, & proceeding passed, at 10 A. M., the mouth of the Cannon river, 25 yards wide, & soon reached the Indian village where we were overtaken by "*Red Wing*" & halting the boat. we accompanied him to his lodge, & remained a few minutes—Reached "*Lake Pepin*" (an expansion of the Mississippi, & from 1 to 3 miles wide) at noon. This Lake is considered (on account of having no harbors, & the water easily disturbed by winds) very dangerous to navigate; & but few Boatmen, should there be the least wind, would consent to undertake to cross it: The weather being clear and calm, we apprehended no difficulty—Passed a point of Rocks¹⁵ on the *E.* shore 200 feet above the surface of the water, from which, (as 'tis reported) a squaw¹⁶ being attached to one Indian & betrothed by her parents to another, in a fit of despair took "*the lover's Leap*," and thus fell a sacrifice to a feeling of sentiment very rarely to be found amongst *savages*. Below this our boat stopped for a short time & several curious specimens of Copper, Flint, Iron & Carnelian were found. We here observed large branches of trees, of the size of a common man's body, much bent, & of a blackish color, & upon close examination found them to be covered with bugs or flies 1½ inches long with small bodies—shaking the branches, they recovered their green appearance & erect positions; these insects leaving them, which we found perfectly innocent & harmless. Arrived at the lower end of the Lake (which is 22 miles long) at 11 P. M. where we anchored, in middle of the stream. In the lake we found no current, tho' elsewhere in the river the water generally runs from 1 to 3 nots per hour; which we find

¹⁵"Maiden's Rock" is the name by which this point was known. A picture of it engraved by Seymour appears in Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i. at p. 84, and a much better one in Mrs. Mary Eastman's *Dakotah: or Life and Legends of the Sioux Around Fort Snelling*. (N. Y., 1849), p. 165. V. M. P.

¹⁶Winona, which signifies "the first born daughter," is supposed to have been the name of the "squaw" referred to by Kearny. Tradition, of course, describes her as "a beauteous young Indian maiden." Her story is told at length by Keating, i, p. 280. V. M. P.

of great assistance, in as much as we have a boat of 30 Tons, & as yet having had but little wind to favor us, we are obliged to depend upon our oarsmen 12 in number.

July 31st.

At 4 A. M., with a heavy fog, weighed anchor, passed Chippeway river on the *East* & The Great Encampment¹⁷ on the *W.* side; This takes its name from the circumstance of almost all the traders stopping here either in *as-* or *descending* the river, for the purpose of hunting, drying or airing their goods or baggage, or refitting & overhauling their boats; passed "Prairie Le Aisle,"¹⁸ at the bottom of which we found "Wabasha's" Indian village; of 10 lodges; stopped & visited him, he then came on board our boat, bringing with him an Indian (a brother-in-law of Col. Dickson, a celebrated British trader) who understood French, & by whom we were enabled to hold a conversation.

The question as to the number of his band having been inadvertently put to him, he immediately appeared to be somewhat excited, & rising, he took a glass of water (as if to prepare himself), then throwing his blanket over his left shoulder & arm, his right one remaining bare, he reseated himself, & commenced a speech which lasted for 5 minutes, displaying a great fluency of words & accompanied with the most easy & graceful gestures.—

The substance of "Wabasha's" speech, as interpreted, was "That he did not relish the idea of the Whites being on the river above him; That he wished them to remove; That he could not force them, but unless they did, he would complain to his "Great Father." This *W.* is a great & powerful chief, & for many years has been distinguished on this river.

Leaving his village, we continued to "La Montagne qui Trempe a l'Eau"¹⁹ (the mountain which soaks in the river) where we anchored for the night— This mountain is near the *E* shore, nearly two miles in circumference, & upwards of 200 feet elevation above the surface of the water, & having a river,²⁰ falling in to the Mississippi in its rear.

¹⁷"Great (or Grand) Encampment." There is a dispute among historians as to whether or not the "fortifications" mentioned by Capt. Carver in his *Travels* (p. 54 of the London ed.), went by this name. Long's party decided against it. (Keating, i, pp 276-78.) Kearny's version of the origin of the name is probably right. V. M. P.

¹⁸"Prairie Le Aisle," a meaningless phrase as it stands, and open to various renderings, as L'Aile, L'Ail, or L'Le. Pike's text (1807), p. 12, has "L'aile." (See Coues' Pike, i, p. 54, note 57.) V. M. P.

¹⁹Carver says: "About sixty miles below this Lake (Pepin) is a mountain remarkably situated; for it stands by itself exactly in the middle of the river, and looks at if it had slid from the adjacent shore into the stream. It cannot be termed an island, as it rises immediately from the brink of the water to a considerable height. Both the Indians and the French call it the Mountain in the River." (Carver's *Travels*, Boston ed. 1797, p. 39.) V. M. P.

²⁰The river is now known as the "Trempealeau," and runs through the country of the same name in Wisconsin.

This river we have hitherto found beautifully diversified with Islands, of a variety of shapes & dimensions, & its banks offering to the eye much picturesque & interesting scenery—Today, particularly, we have seen on the *W* shore, for several miles, a succession of hills, about 200 feet high, & a thousand, long, well timbered, on their sides & front, but Tops bare, in the shape of immense buildings & very regular, & divided or separated by ravines, 50 feet wide, leading to the river.

August 1st.

Started at 4 A. M.—passed Black river to the East about 100 yards wide at its mouth; met a canoe with 6 Indians ascending the river; they came on board, & one we found to be a nephew of Wabasha, treated them with some whiskey, when they left us—Passed “Prairie Le Cross;” (so called from the circumstance of a game of ball by that name being frequently played by the Indians at that place) The Prairie commences at the mouth of the river of that name, about 15 yards wide, & extends, on the *E*. shore, about a mile, & bounded in the rear by high hills and clms, a mile from the Mississippi—Saw several geese & Pelicans, many of which we fired at, but without success—The afternoon, quite warm, & at 5 P. M. passed the grave of an Indian interpreter, who had been drowned last summer, & whose body about 20 days subsequently was found, suspended to some branches of a tree, by some of the 5th Inf’y, was recognized and interred at this place—²¹

The Sand bars in this river we find to inconvenience [us] very much; for it is impossible, even with the greatest care, to prevent running on them & we are then detained considerably, ere we can get off. Passed the Iowa river on the *West* at 9 P. M., & all on board being desirous of proceeding tonight, we continued, winding our course with the turns of the channel of the river.

August 2nd.

At 4 A. M. passed Yellow river, 20 yards wide, on the *West*, & at 5 reached “Prairie Du Chien,” where we found two companies of the 5th Regt. established in comfortable barracks, 100 yards square, with 2 block houses at opposite angles, & 200 yards from the water—

The village of Prairie Du Chien, which was first established by the French from Canada in 1770, for the purpose of trade or traffic

²¹That part of the 5th Infantry which established the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, under command of Col. Leavenworth, had passed here the summer before on its way up the river. Maj. Thos. Forsyth, an Indian agent who accompanied the expedition, kept a journal of their voyage. He records that they left Prairie du Chien 8 Aug., 1819. An entry made the following day, when they must have reached the point mentioned by Kearny, contains this statement: “We this day found the body of A. Aunger, and buried it.” (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 201.) We may reasonably infer this to have been the unfortunate interpreter whose grave Kearny noted. V. M. P.

with the Indians. is on the *E.* bank of the Mississippi, 5 miles by water above the mouth of the Ouisconsin—It is the most advanced white settlement on this river & may consist of 100 houses, lying in 3 different detachments—These houses are of logs, & are much better calculated to resist the heat of the summer than the winter cold—The Inhabitants about 500, mostly French, very hospitable, & pleased to see and entertain strangers.

The Prairie on which the village is built extends for some miles on the river, & is bounded in the rear by hills 400 feet high, two miles distant from the water; about midway up these hills runs a ledge of rocks & many other indications are to be seen, to lead to the conclusion of their having once been the boundary of the river.

We were politely received by the officers at this Post, & our baggage having been carried into the Cantonment, we were invited to live at the Mess during our stay at the Post.²²

August 3rd.

Passed the day partly in Camp & partly in the village—in the evening visited some *Wig Wams* where I found a very pretty squaw, who during my visit fell into fits.

This afternoon about 30 of the principal warriors & leading men of the Winnebagos arrived at the village.

August 4th.

Having exchanged boats, & obtained one of about 12 Tons, with 6 oarsmen, left Prairie Du Chien at 9 A. M., with a fresh & fair breeze— Passed the Ouisconsin river on the East.

This river is about 600 yards wide at its mouth, & connected with the Fox river, (between which, there is but one mile portage) forms the communication from the Upper Lakes to the Mississippi. Passed Turkey River on the W. & two miles below on the *East* shore an old deserted village of the Sioux, 20 lodges, on a handsome Prairie & bounded in the rear by high Prairie hills— During the day had frequent showers of rain—saw many Pelicans, which at a distance make a very handsome shew—

Having no cabouse on board, we were obliged to put to, at 7 P.M. (on the W. shore, under a high bluff) to allow our men to get their suppers in good season—

²²"Fort Crawford" was the name of the post. It was built in 1816 by the Rifle Regiment, on the same spot, the top of a mound, where had stood a stockade of the same name, erected by the Americans in 1814, captured by the British and held by them till the peace of 1815. During the several years intervening between the completion of the fort and the time Kearny wrote, the commanding officer of the post was Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Morgan, the senior officer accompanying our party. The fort was abandoned in 1826 through the instrumentality of Col. Snelling, who disliked Prairie du Chien for differences he had had with some of its principal inhabitants, and the troops were removed to Fort Snelling. The following year, on account of fresh Indian troubles, two companies were returned. The fort was thereafter continuously garrisoned till 1831, when a newer fort of the same name was erected in another part of the town.

After dark endeavored to gig some fish, but were not able to succeed—put out our lines, but to no purpose—made today about 40 miles.

August 5th.

The mosquitoes we found last night very troublesome— Started at 4 A. M. passed "Bear Creek" on the West & at breakfast time stopped at a small Island, where we saw a large flock of pigeons, & secured 8 of them for our dinner. At 10 A. M. stopped at a settlement of traders, (where we found Dr. Muir,²³ late of the army, with his squaw & 2 children) opposite a "Fox village" of 17 lodges, & 100 Inhabitants— On a high hill, at one end of the village, we saw a small building, covering the remains of Mr. Dubuque,²⁴ who

²³SAMUEL C. MUIR, born in District of Columbia, became a surgeon's mate in the 1st Infantry, 7 April, 1813, and was honorably discharged 15 June, 1815. He was reinstated 13 Sept., 1815, in the 8th Infantry; became a hospital surgeon's mate 31 Oct., 1817; a post surgeon 18 April, 1818, and resigned 1 Aug., 1818. He again became a post surgeon 28 Sept., 1818, but was dropped for good 27 July, 1819. Col. John Shaw, in his "Personal Narrative," says: "About this period (1815) Dr. Muir, of the United States Army, whom I had seen at Fort Johnston in 1814, was at Prairie du Chien, when his life was threatened, and he was saved by a young Sauk squaw, whom he married, and by whom he raised a family. Dr. Muir often related to me the incidents of his wife's heroism in saving him, but the particulars I have forgotten. Like most persons connected with the army, he was too fond of liquor; otherwise he might have risen to distinction and usefulness." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 224.) A note on the foregoing, by L. C. D. (raper), says Muir was a Scotchman, a good physician, who had been educated at Edinburgh; that while trading with the Winnebagoes a plan was concocted to kill him, "when a young squaw apprised him of it, and secreted him in a cave and supplied him with food till the alarm passed away. In gratitude to his deliverer, he took her with him as his wife, and settled at Galena and raised several children. Dr. Muir was afterwards among the first settlers at Keokuk, where he carried on the Indian trade, and where he died (24 Sept., 1832), after which his family joined the Indians." (*ibid.*) V. M. P.

²⁴JULIEN DUBUQUE is the man for whom Dubuque, Iowa, is named. His ancestor, Jean Baptiste Dubuc, born in 1641 in Trinity Parish, Diocese of Rouen, son of Pierre Dubuc and Marie Hotot, married Francoise L'Archeveque in 1668 at Quebec. Their son Romain, baptised in 1671, married in 1693 Anne Pinel. Their son Noel-Augustin, baptised in 1707, married in 1744 Marie Mailhot. Their son Julien was baptised in 1762 at Saint-Pierre-les-Becquets. Julien Dubuque emigrated to the province of Louisiana in 1774 and settled at Prairie du Chien in 1785. He very soon obtained great influence over the Indians, for he became familiar with their conjurations and magic. He learned of the existence of the lead mines on the west of the Mississippi, discovered in 1780 by the wife of the chief Peosta, of the Foxes. Realizing the value of the discovery he tried to obtain a grant of the land from the Indians, who had steadfastly refused to make concession to any white man. By means of his almost supernatural power, as the Indians believed, he succeeded in securing a grant of seven leagues along the Mississippi River and three leagues in depth, at a grand council of the Indians, held at Prairie du Chien in 1788. The location of the grant was about 500 miles above St. Louis. To gain the goodwill of the Spanish possessors of the soil he named the plant "The Mines of Spain," and in 1796 sent a petition to the Governor of Louisiana, Baron de Carondelet, setting forth his claims. It was referred to Andrew Todd, who had a monopoly of the Indian trade of the upper Mississippi. Todd replied that he saw no reason why Dubuque should not be given the land provided he would not trade with the Indians without Todd's consent. Dubuque then proceeded to operate the mines, using Indian labor. It is

died in 1808, & who obtained from the Spanish government (previous to the cession of this country to the Americans) the title to the "Lead Mines," which commence one mile from this place— These mines are at present partially worked by 5 or 6 of the "Fox Indians."

We were politely received by Dr. M. & the traders— On leaving them, passed two canoes, with Indians, descending the river, & were accosted by them with "*How de do, How de do, How de do*" a salutation I find every Indian on the Mississippi acquainted with—

Landed, at dark, on a sand beach, on the *E.* shore—set our hook & line, & caught the largest Eel I ever saw.

August 6th. Sunday.

Proceeded, at 4 A. M., with a strong head wind— Passed a Keel Boat, from St. Louis, on its way to Prairie Du Chien, belonging to "Mr. Johnson, the Factor," loaded with stores, &c., &c., Saw on the *W.* shore several deserted Lodges, & near them a furnace, where the "Foxes" run their Lead, they having mines in this vicinity— Shortly afterwards passed the mouth of the "Wapibisinekaw," about 150 yards wide, & flowing in to the Mississippi from the West. Near this we saw many geese but could not approach to within shooting distance, & a flock of 3 or 400 Pelicans, one of which was shot, but he recovered & flew off ere we reached him.

The Banks of the river & the Lands in the rear have assumed a different character from that they exhibited above— The soil, near the river, is clay & the Prairie Bottoms are extending a mile from it, bounded by high hills well covered with timber, & shewing very many beautiful situations for Farms & Buildings— Anchored, at dark, on the *E.* shore, having been detained considerably today in getting over Sand bars that we frequently, inadvertently, run on— Caught several cat-fish, Pickerel & Turtle.

said that such was his influence that he made the Indians *work*. Out of his lead and peltries, which he shipped semi-annually to St. Louis, he amassed a large fortune. Nearly all early travelers upon the Mississippi visited his mines. He died in 1810. His devoted Indians followed his body to the grave in a wailing procession, and for years thereafter it is said they placed a lighted torch on it every night. Certain of them dutifully made annual pilgrimages to the tomb. (*Les Canadiens de L'Ouest* par Joseph Tasse, Montreal, 1878, pp. 239-62.) A visit to it by Thomas L. McKenney is thus described in his article "The Winnebago War of 1827" (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 202): "Arriving at DuBuques sixty miles below the Prairie, we stopped, and visited the grave. This grave is on a high bluff, or point of land, formed by the junction of the Black River with the Mississippi, on the west side of the latter. A village of Fox Indians occupied the low lands south of the bluff—of these Indians we procured the guide who piloted us to DuBuque's last resting place. The ascent was rather fatiguing. Over the grave was a stone, covered with a roof of wood. Upon the stone was a cross on which was carved in rude letters 'Julien DuBuque, died 24th March, 1810, aged 45 years.' Nearby was the burial spot of an Indian Chief." (See also "Indian Chiefs and Pioneers of the North-West," by Col. John Shaw, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 221, Schoolcraft's *Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi*, Phil. Ed., 1855, p. 169, and *Dubuque Claim* (pamphlet), St. Louis, 1845.) V. M. P.

August 7th.

Started, at 4 A. M., Passed on the *East* shore a high Prairie for the distance of 8 miles, & reached the "Fox" village²⁵ on the West, of 19 lodges, where we stopped a few minutes, and traded for some corn.

Five miles from this village brought us to the head of the "Rapids De Roche," & entering them, we descended with but little difficulty only striking & sticking on the rocks three times (which was very well, considering we had no Pilot) & reached the foot of them at 1 P. M., they being about 18 miles long— Four miles from this brought us to Fort Armstrong,²⁶ at the lower end of Rock Island. During the day we were much opposed by strong Head winds, & a severe rain, which increased the difficulty of navigation thro' the Rapids, the current of which however we did not find more than 5 nots per hour.

Rock Island, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, & $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide, lies near the *E* or Illinois shore, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Stoney, or Rock River, & is well covered with timber & of good soil; The Fort on it was built in 1815, & is a neat work, with 3 block houses, & capable of resisting any attack from Indians. It forms a part of the chain of Posts on the Mississippi, & is eligible situated, being in the neighborhood of many tribes, & the most war like & powerful on the river. 'Twas on this Island that two of the "Winnebagos," in the month of April, shot two of our Soldiers. The murderers having been demanded of the Chief or Principal men of that Tribe, were a month since brought in by them & are now confined in the Fort, with a ball & chain attached to their arms & legs— When examined, they made a candid confession of their crime, & only demanded immediate death— I visited these fellows, & found one of them in consequence of confinement much indisposed.—

August 8th.

In the afternoon, in company with Lieut. Col. M. & Lt. P., crossed over to the "Fox Village" of 30 lodges; It is on the *E*. shore,

²⁵The Fox village was near the site of the present town of Princeton, Scott county, Iowa. (Coues, p. 26, n. 31.)

²⁶Fort Armstrong was built in 1816 and named in honor of the then Secretary of War. A post there was needed as a protection against the restless Sac and Fox Indians, then numbering about 11,800 persons, living in villages on both sides of the river near the island. A historical sketch of it by Mrs. Maria Peck may be found in the *Annals of Iowa*, i, 3d Series, p. 602. A good description of the works is given by Long in his 1817 manuscript, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii. The appearance of the fort on the beautiful wooded island was highly romantic. Gov. Ford in his *History of Illinois* compares "the white-washed walls and tower of the fort perched upon a high cliff, as seen from a distance, to one of those enchanted castles in an uninhabited desert, so graphically described in the Arabian Nights." Col. Morgan of Kearny's party had been the commanding officer at the post in 1816 and 1817. After the Black Hawk War the fort was abandoned. Since then an ordnance post has occupied the island (Rock Island Arsenal) and is today one of the most important manufacturing arsenals in the country. V. M. P.

opposite the Fort, & about 300 yards distant— We obtained horses, saddles & bridles, from the Indians, & rode to the "Rock River," 4 miles from its mouth & distant from the Fort about 3 miles—we passed over a very handsome country, having on our right an extensive rich Prairie, reaching to the Mississippi, & on our left, a gentle hill, well covered with corn, beans, &c., &c. & thickly settled—on the Rock river we found the Principal village of the *Sac Nations*²⁷—They can here muster 1,000 warriors, & they are considered the most efficient of any of the Indian warriors, being better armed, mounted, & equipped. We found them at a Feast, of which Col. M. participated, the heat prevented me from attending. Saw, in front of one of the chiefs lodges some scalps, which have lately been taken from the "Sioux," the Sacs having surprised & murdered a party of that Tribe consisting of 3 old men, 3 women, & 3 children. These two nations are now determined to go to War, & most probably some bloody battles will be fought, 'ere their difference is accommodated. We returned to the Fort at sundown. The day has been excessively hot & oppressive. Mercury at 96 in the shade.

August 9th.

Six chiefs²⁸ of the "Sacs & Foxes" dined with us, at Maj. Marston's, the commandant of the Fort, & shewed by their manners & conduct that politeness is not confined exclusively to the Whites. They ate & drank agreeably to our customs, & tho' not much used to a knife & fork, or a wineglass, they displayed not the least awkwardness in the managing of either.

We had intended leaving here today, but the oppressive heat thro' out (the mercury being at 97) prevented us.

August 10th.

Having purchased, for Six bottles of whiskey, a Canoe, 25 feet long, & 2 broad, we left "Rock Island," at 6 A. M. our party being now reduced to Lieut. Col. Morgan, Lieut. Pentland, myself & two waiters, one belonging to the Col, the other my own, & each of us seated on the bottom of the boat, with a paddle in hand to work with.

Passed "Rock River" on the East, a handsome & extensive low Prairie on the West;—a small river, called "Pine Creek." In the afternoon, reached "Prairie Island," near the W. shore, which we

²⁷This Sac village, according to Major Long (1817), was by far the largest Indian village along the Mississippi between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony. Its Indian name was Makataimeshekiakiak, translated Black Sparrow Hawk, which became contracted into "Black Hawk." It contained about 100 cabins and had a population of between 2,000 and 3,000. It could furnish over 800 warriors all armed with rifles or fuseses. The famous Black Hawk was the leading chief here at this time. Both the Sacs and the Foxes cultivated vast fields of corn in this region. These tribes, whose names are usually linked together, were allies in war but otherwise had only a nominal connection. The Sacs, who outnumbered the Foxes, dwelt on the East side of the river, and Foxes on the West. V. M. P.

²⁸BLACK HAWK was one of the number in all likelihood. V. M. P.

found 10 miles long, & encamped at sundown, a few miles below the extremity of it.—made today 45 miles.—

August 11th.

Rose at the first dawn of day, & as we had all been much tormented with the mosquitoes since our landing, we started without delay— Passed the Ayauwa²⁹ river on the W. & shortly afterwards stopped to breakfast. After which the wind being somewhat favorable, we hoisted sail, but had not proceeded 3 miles, when it died away, & the Sun shone out so intensely hot, that notwithstanding our being considerably hardened & our anxiety to move on, we were obliged to stop til about 3 P. M. when we again started, & continued our course 'til dark—40 miles.

August 12th.

We were off again at day break, Passed "Pole cat river" on the W. some Traders house, a short distance below, & immediately afterwards Flint Hill (so called, from its composition), which we found 6 miles long & about 100 feet high. Stopped at old "Fort Madison,"³⁰ on the W. shore, where are the remains of nine chimneys, & some Picketts, & scattering stones, that indicate a military work once existed here. Reached the "Des Moines Rapids" at sundown. & descended, occasionally striking on a Rock, tho' sustaining no injury, passed two boats, with provisions, for Prairie Du Chien," & arrived at "Fort Edwards" at 12 at night, having made 65 miles.

August 13th. Sunday

Fort Edwards,³¹ on the E. or Illinois shore, about 1 mile above the Des Moines River & 3 below the Rapids, is in Lat 40° 21' N.

²⁹"Ayauwa" is one of the multitudinous early variations of the name Iowa. Nineteen of them are cited by Coues in his *Pike's Expedition* (p. 22) and he includes neither Kearny's rendering or the favorite "Ioway" of the early frontiersmen. Among the most nearly unrecognizable are "Aalaoua" and "Aiavvi," although "AJoe" and "Yahowa" are pretty well masked. See also Lewis and Clark, ed. 1893, p. 20. V. M. P.

³⁰Fort Madison was built in 1808, according to the best authority, by Zachary Taylor, then a 1st Lieut. in the 7th Infantry. (Coues.) The post was attacked by Indians twice in 1813. In November of that year it was evacuated and burned on account of the failure of the garrison to receive needed provisions. The ruins were visited by Long in 1817, who found "nothing but old chimneys left standing, and a covert way leading from the main garrison to higher ground in the rear, where there was some kind of outwork. In the old garden were found peach, nectarine and apple trees." The present city of Fort Madison, the seat of Lee county, Iowa, and which occupies the old site, grew up in later years. V. M. P.

³¹Fort Edwards, nearly opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River, was begun in June, 1816, the labor being done by soldiers, and was not quite completed when visited by Long in 1817. He described it as "a palisade work constructed entirely of square timber. It is intended to contain two block houses, situated in the alternate angles of the Fort; a magazine of stone; barracks for the accommodation of one company of soldiers; officer's quarters; hospital, storerooms, etc." The troops could not have remained there very long for Kearny says the post was abandoned 18 months prior to his visit. Major Forsyth in 1819 found living in the evacuated fort some families who were entitled to land for services rendered during the War of 1812. On account of the insults offered them by drunken Indians in the neighborhood, Major Forsyth recommended to Gov. Clark that half a company of soldiers under a subaltern be stationed there. The suggestion seems to have been followed, as Kearny's next entry shows. V. M. P.

'Tis a small square work, with 2 block houses, & capable of containing a company of soldiers— Built in 1815 on a high commanding eminence, & surrounded by a rich & handsome country.

This Post was abandoned 18 months since, but in consequence of the murder of the 2 soldiers at Rock Island, by the Indians, & the representations made, by the factor of the hostility of the neighboring Tribes, a Lieut. with 20 men were sent here in May last.

August 14th.

In company with the Sub agent, visited the Sac village, a mile below the Fort, & on the Borders of the river. They here count about 100 Warriors. Purchased some sweet corn from the chief's squaw, & after looking at their lodges, 13 in number, their corn-fields, &c., &c. returned to the Fort, & on my way passed the remains of the Cantonment²² where the 8th Infy. were quartered in 1815 & '16.

August 15th.

At 8 A. M. we embarked on board our canoe, & descended one mile, to the mouth of the Des Moines, where we found the Steam Boat, "Western Engineer," commanded by Lieut. Graham, who came here a week since, for the purpose of taking observations, &c: Put our baggage on board, & fastened the canoe to her. Near this saw a coffin containing the bones of an Indian tied fast to the centre of a large tree which was done at the request of the deceased to preserve his fame after the extinction of his body.

Proceeded at 10 & run about 15 miles when about 1 P. M. we found ourselves on the Sand bar & from which we endeavored, but without success, to extricate ourselves. The boat has but few hands & those sick with fevers.

August 16th.

At 8 A. M. we succeeded after much exertion in getting off the Sandbar & in endeavoring to cross to the opposite shore to reach the channel, we ran on another bar about 200 yards from the one we left, & found ourselves even faster than before.

At 2 P. M., aware of the uncertainty of the Steam Boat reaching St. Louis, and our party being desirous to proceed without loss of time we took to our canoe, & having a favorable breeze hoisted sail.

²²Cantonment Edwards, to which Kearny refers, was the precursor of Fort Edwards. It was half a mile s. w. from the fort and was abandoned when the new works were completed. V. M. P.

Two miles below stopped at a settlement³³ (the first we have seen since leaving Prairie Du Chien) & engaged Four Men to assist the Steam Boat from her present situation. Passed the "Wakendaw River" on the West at which point we saw large flocks of Turkeys—after which reached "The Two Rivers,"³⁴ so called from the circumstance of their entering the Mississippi 100 yards apart. Stopped here and took some coffee, when we re-embarked, and it being after dark, passed "Hannibal," without seeing it, and at 12 at night landed and laid down to sleep, all of us being quite weary and tired.

August 17th.

Proceeded at 6 A. M; and shortly met a boat ascending the river which we boarded; found her destined for Fort Edwards. The Factor and some officers and Ladies on board.

Passed Salt River on the left, & landed a short distance below at "Louisiana," apparently a thriving place and the capital County Town of Pike County. The Inhabitants we found mostly sick with fevers, & a keel boat being about starting for St. Louis we determined to take a passage on board. This boat is freighted with furs, and worked by six Frenchmen, commanded by a young American, whom the former pay no regard nor respect to. Passed "Clarks-ville" on the West, at dark all on board went to sleep leaving the boat to drift at will, not however 'til a watch of two had been detailed, whose duty I found consisted in sleeping more soundly than the others, the bow and stern being appropriated to them.

August 18th.

On awaking in the morning we found we had progressed but slowly during the night, not having made more than 4 or 5 miles.

In the morning passed by "Quiver"³⁵ on the West and at noon reached "Capo Gray."³⁶ At this point the river is quite narrow, not

³³The settlement was probably Wvaconda or Waconda, so-called from the river of that name, which Kearny gives as the "Wakendaw River." The place is now La Grange, Lewis County, Missouri, a little above Quincy, Illinois. V. M. P.

³⁴"Two Rivers" was a couple of miles above a spot that became the site of a "paper town" that rejoiced in the name of "Marion City," so Coues tells us. Streets and lots galore were laid out to accommodate a great population, which however failed to take advantage of the opportunity. The place is supposed to have inspired Charles Dickens with the idea of "Eden," the immortal boom town in "Martin Chuzzlewit." V. M. P.

³⁵Not "Quiver," but *Cuivre*, the French word meaning copper, was and still is the name of the large stream and island observed by Kearny. Many travelers, including Lewis and Clark, have fallen into the same phonetic trap. It was known also in early days as "Rivière aux Boeufs," or Buffalo River. Pike called it that. The stream comes into the Mississippi as the dividing line between Lincoln and St. Charles Counties, Missouri.

³⁶Capo Gray should be Cap au Grès. This is another French term that lent itself to conversion by Americans into an English phrase of similar sound but different meaning. Even the French fell into the habit of rendering the name "Cap au Gris," mistaking *grès*, a noun, meaning sandstone, for the adjective *gr's*, meaning gray. It was also called "Cap au Gré," an obvious error. Similar corruptions of early French terms in this region might be instanced. "*Vide Poche*" (empty pocket) an ancient name given the village of Carondelet (now a part of the city of St. Louis) became anglicized in many mouths into "wheat bush."

more than 300 yards wide. On the West side are the remains of old "Fort Independence,"³⁷ erected during the late war for the protection of the Frontier Inhabitants. 12 miles brought us to "Little Capo Gray" where we saw several settlements, & it being dark all hands retired to rest, the same ceremony of the appointment of watch having been gone thro' as the night previous.

August 19th.

At day break passed the "Illinois River" on the East. A short distance below this commences a ridge of Rocks (about 1200 feet high, very irregular, and forming the most antic appearances that can possibly be imagined), which continues as low as "Portage De Sioux," the shore on the west being low and sandy. This Town is prettily situated & is not more than 2 miles to the nearest point of the Missouri, being 8 above its mouth. Finding our progress to be but slow we left the Keel Boat and again taking to our canoe passed the Town of "Alton," on the Illinois side, having a large Sandbar in front of it; 3 miles further brought us to the mouth of the Missouri, which we welcomed most cordially as an old acquaintance, and at 5 P. M. reached St. Louis having come down the Mississippi from the St. Peters, a distance of 900 miles.

³⁷"Fort Independence" was one of the many temporary stockades erected in St. Charles County during the war of 1812. It is probably the same defence that is mentioned by Shaw under the name of "Fort Cap au Gré."

HENRY CLAY DEAN—1852.

We had the pleasure of listening to a couple of discourses by the Rev. Mr. Dean of Muscatine, at the Methodist church of this city on Sunday last. For beauty of diction, clearness of logic, depth of thought, force of illustration and brilliancy of imagination, we have seldom heard those sermons equalled. The weather was unfortunately so inclement that the congregation was small. Mr. Dean possesses in an eminent degree a metaphysical cast of mind united with strong reasoning faculties and vivid imagination. We understand he was a successful lawyer in the state of Virginia.—[Burlington Telegraph] —*The Western American*, Keosauqua, Iowa, April 10, 1852.

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